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argued for the suspension of the war between Chile and the Confederation in light of the friendship that should have existed between the two countries. Santa Cruz backed his conciliatory posture, and it is probable that he was not sure that success would accompany the Confederation and that, in any case, it was not the opportune moment for armed confrontations when the confederate state was not yet facing revolt.

65. Valencía Avaria, *Bernardo O'Higgins*, 478. Archivo Departamental de Arequipa (ADA), Testamentos, Escribano Francisco Xavier de Linares, Protocolo 376, Año 1797, 282–86. Don Raymundo O'Phelan was the captain of the local army and graduate colonel; he was married to Doña Bernardina Recavarren.

66. Samuel Haigh, quoted in Kinsbruner, "The Political Influence of the British Merchants," 27.

67. Kinsbruner, "The Political Influence of the British Merchants," 31.

8

Corinne in the Andes

European Advice for Women in 1820s Argentina and Chile

Iona Macintyre

The time may arrive, when South America may have to boast her Madame de Staels and a host of female literati; and another Corinna may conduct her lover over Southern scenery, the snow-tipt Andes, and Imperial Cusco, with as much soft enthusiasm as belongs to her Italian rival.

—Anonymous, *A Five Years' Residence in Buenos Aires*

I take the title of this chapter from the words of the anonymous author of *A Five Years' Residence in Buenos Aires, during the Years 1820–1825: Containing Remarks on the Country and Inhabitants*, who conjures up the image of a Spanish American answer to the European literary figure of Corinne.¹ Corinne is the erudite half-English and half-Italian heroine of the French-Swiss writer Germaine de Staël's best-selling novel of 1807, *Corinne, or Italy*, which follows the fate of a learned woman, a character connoting modernity in nineteenth-century European literature. The main themes in the novel are women and learning, but cultural differences are also explored: the divergences between the north and the south and between the Anglo-Saxon world and Latin people.

The woman question was a liberal transatlantic concern during the 1820s. The focus of this chapter is the Spanish liberal José Joaquín de Mora (1783–1864), who, alongside other revolutionary activities, drew on his knowledge of British and French culture and spread advice on the education of girls and women in Latin America. During his lifetime Mora worked in elevated political and civic circles as a lawyer, writer and poet, newspaper editor, translator, and educator in Spain, Britain, and South America and lived in Argentina and Chile during the second half of the 1820s, helping to shape intellectual life wherever he took up residence. As such, Mora sheds light on initiatives, connections, and networks between Europe and Latin America during the decade.

Raised in Cádiz, Mora studied law at the University of Granada, where he subsequently took up a teaching post in logic.² During the Napoleonic

Wars he fought at the 1808 Battle of Bailén. As a prisoner of war in France he met his future wife, Françoise Delaunay (1791–1887), the daughter of a justice of the peace in Autun, Burgundy. They married in January 1814 and left for Spain. During the Trienio Liberal (a historical period), the couple resided in Madrid, where, politically committed and active, Mora was a newspaper editor (founding the weekly *Crónica Literaria y Científica* in 1817) and journalist (for periodicals such as the *Minerva Nacional* in 1820). Throughout his life Mora also worked as a translator, mainly working contemporary French texts into Spanish, for example, Charles Brifaut's play of 1813, *Ninus II, tragédie en 5 actes* (1818), and François-René de Chateaubriand's pamphlet against Napoleon Bonaparte, *De Buonaparte et des Bourbons*, of 1814 (translated that same year). Mora corresponded with Jeremy Bentham and translated his pamphlet on the Spanish Cortes in 1820. He translated the moral philosopher Baron d'Holbach's *Essai sur les préjugés* (1770) in 1823. Mora twice translated French writers who were interested in the woman question. In 1812 he translated Jean-Nicolas Bouilly's *Contes à ma fille* of 1809, and in 1825 he translated work of the seventeenth-century writer François Fénelon, who had also written a treatise on the education of daughters in 1681.

With the return of absolutism in Spain, Mora was forced to go into exile in 1823. Following his arrest in connection with subversive activities at his debating club in Madrid, the couple sought refuge in London. There, German publisher Rudolph Ackermann had established a successful business providing middle-brow and presentable prints, books, and journals to the British public, and he was now expanding into the Spanish American book market.³ Ackermann had already published Spanish Bibles for the British and the Foreign Bible Society to sell in Spanish America.⁴ Now he responded to reports that foreign books on useful subjects were needed in Spanish America and employed a number of Spanish exiles resident in London as writers and translators with the aim of providing modern concepts in modern books. Ackermann's texts in Spanish met calls for more reading material in Spanish America, for example, by Chilean priest and writer Camilo Henríquez (1769–1825). Henríquez wrote in the *Aurora de Chile* in favor of popularizing British thinkers in Spanish America.⁵ Mora very much shared Henríquez's views on the improving effects of British culture, and he entered into Ackermann's employment. In Mora's translator's note in the Ackermann edition of Walter Scott's 1825 novel, *El Talisman* (1826), he expresses a belief that the translation of the novel would help Spanish Americans develop good taste.

Under Ackermann's employment, Mora wrote, compiled, and translated a

number of books for distribution in Spanish America. His work and translations covered history, for example, William Davis Robinson's *Memorias de la revolución de Méjico* (1824); Francisco Javier Clavigero's *Historia antigua de Méjico* (1826); the anonymously written *Cuadros de la historia de los Árabes: Desde Mahoma hasta la conquista de Granada* (1826), which Mora dedicated to Vicente Rocafuerte; and *Persia: Descripción abreviada del mundo* (1824), by Frederic Schöberl (1775–1853). He also translated fiction, such as Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1825). At the same time he edited the periodicals *Museo Universal de Ciencias y Artes* (1825) and *Correo literario y político de Londres* (1826), where he published José Joaquín de Olmedo's epic poem, *La Victoria de Junín. Canto a Bolívar*.

In general, the Ackermann texts transferred new ideas in humanities, science, the arts, and other fields into useful information for a general audience that would include school children, juveniles, and women. Most emblematic of the enterprise are the Ackermann catechism school books produced between 1823 and 1829.⁶ The series covered topics such as rhetoric, mythology, chemistry, literary studies, Greek and Roman history, modern history, geography, natural history, and geometry. Book dedications and featured advertisement pages demonstrate that the schoolhouse was an important target market for Ackermann and was, therefore, a subsystem of Latin American society that received Eurocentric narratives. The superiority of European civilization (here Europe is a vague concept that does not necessarily encompass Spain) was both implicit and explicit in the catechisms:

Q. Why is Europe famous?

A. Because of the knowledge, culture, intelligence and activity of its inhabitants.⁷

Mora would also emphasize this point, perhaps seeing himself as an intercontinental voice and as a transmitter of knowledge from the west to the east and from the north to the south, from the knowledgeable to the inexperienced: "From the great cities of Europe the sacred fire of knowledge spreads with incalculable speed, and arrives at the most far off countries. What a simple journalist puts on paper in Edinburgh is transmitted like an electric spark to the Banks of the Ganges and of the River Plate, to the foot of the Alps and to the foot of the Andes."⁸

In Britain, Ackermann targeted the ladies' market with fashion plates, albums, annuals, souvenirs, keepsakes, calendars, and other kinds of gift books,

sometimes publishing women artists. In 1824 Mora compiled an annual entitled *No me olvides*, which aimed to continue from the success of the 1823 English-language *Forget Me Not*, though it was not published until 1827. These books were highly illustrated and clearly intended to be given as gifts. They consisted of verse, short stories, and fragments of travelogues. Mora's 1824 text was not entirely the same as the 1824 *Forget Me Not*, but they share several characteristics, for example, the inclusion of the story *The Adventure of Two Englishmen in South America*, about two adventurers who travel to South America to fight alongside Simón Bolívar. Mora promoted women writers from time to time in his other writings. For example, the dialogue that precedes Mora's 1825 translation of *Ivanhoe* states that, contrary to popular belief, it was not Walter Scott who pioneered the historical novel, but rather a French woman writer. This is presumably a reference to Stéphanie de Genlis (1746–1830), who hailed from the same town as Mora's wife, also wrote on education, and was the author of *Jeanne de France, nouvelle historique* of 1816. In another example, in 1826 the *Museo Universal de Ciencias y Artes* journal, edited by Mora, reviewed an instructive book for children, *Harry and Lucy*, by Anglo-Irish writer Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849).

The culmination of Mora's interest in the woman question came about in 1824. That year Ackermann brought out *Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo por una señora americana*.⁹ Written anonymously in epistolary form, its real author was Mora himself. Although Mora had already translated thinkers on the woman question, we must remember that Joseph Blanco White's letters report that Ackermann often interfered in the writing of the books that he commissioned.¹⁰ Ackermann himself was open to new ideas in education; his sons George (who would take the family business to Mexico during the 1820s) and John had attended a Pestalozzi school, and his daughter Selina (married name was Butler) would run a boarding school for girls in Oxford during the 1830s.

The first noticeable feature in the title of *Cartas* is the deceit involved in the presentation of the text, the counterfeit intimacy produced by the anonym "una señora americana." The authorial persona (a generic Spanish American woman from a distinguished revolutionary family, as she recounts in the introduction) was purposely designed to appeal to the intended market. The second aspect of importance is that *Cartas* presents a secular vision of education with no mention of the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. This arrangement was a great success. An undated edition of the book was printed in Paris by the Librería de A. Mezin later that decade. In Latin America the

book was reproduced a number of times: in Buenos Aires in 1826 and Havana in 1829. Fragments of the text were reproduced in the Brazilian journal *O Mentor das Brasileiras* in Minas Gerais between 1829 and 1832, and an edition was brought out in Rio de Janeiro in 1838. For example, the entire book was published in Portuguese in Rio in 1838 as *Cartas sobre a educação das meninas por uma senhora americana*, by João Candido de Deos e Silva, and distributed to schoolteachers in Minas Gerais at the instruction of the president of the province. The book's dedication stated:

To the ladies of Brazil,

For your instruction and that of your daughters I have translated this book into our language. Its aim is not to form women for dances or games, but rather to form good mothers and good wives, who can provide the State with useful and virtuous citizens.¹¹

Another Portuguese version was translated by educator Francisco Freire de Carvalho and published in London in 1850. Carvalho was the instructor to the daughter of liberal king Pedro I of Brazil. Versions followed in Morelia in 1855, Valparaíso in 1856, and Managua in 1869.¹² The Spanish American editions were promoted as being more affordable than the British import.

Cartas opens describing Northern Europe: "The magnificence of the cities, the beauty, the excellent cultivation of the fields, the general application to useful tasks, the brilliance of the public institutions, the urbanity of the manners, the artistic production, and above all, the welfare universally diffused in the immense population."¹³

Taking inspiration from these achievements, the author of *Cartas* expressed "her" wish to defend the role of women, a social group that was ignored by colonial Spain. *Cartas* explained the female population's special responsibility in establishing order and progress in the new republics. The book expressed a positive view of women's domestic role in society and argued that emulation of the English model of education for girls, which particularly instilled the virtues of hard work, was one of the most effective ways to modernize Spanish America. In contrast, nations in the East and Italy, Portugal, and Spain condemned the fair sex to ignorance. In general, Spanish customs were rejected in *Cartas*. Mora's preference for British culture even extended to cuisine; *Cartas* advised against spicy food. The text also advocated the study of the English language.¹⁴

More than just being in circulation, we know that Mora's book was read

in Latin America. Argentinian president-to-be Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811–1888), writing in Chile in 1849, reported that *Cartas* was used for reading aloud, memorization, and recitation in a school for girls in San Juan:

Forty four volumes were read in the space of a year and a half in these activities whose utility is unquestionable as long as there is discernment in the selection of materials. *Consejos a mi hija*, *Cuentos a mi hija*, *La moral en acción*, *La juventud*, *Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and a multitude of works whose titles I cannot remember, made up a long period of reading which was as enjoyable as it was instructive, enriching the memory with valuable facts and filling the heart with soft emotions. Encouraging this daily activity fosters a taste for Reading which is the fountain of all knowledge. Few men in that country had, as these girls did, the habit of reading aloud with careful pronunciation and an accent and a tone perfectly suited to the subject matter.¹⁵

Ackermann and Mora followed the success of *Cartas* in 1824 with *Gimnástica del bello sexo: Ensayos sobre la educación física de las jóvenes*. *Gimnástica* attacked the inactivity of rich women (assuring them that physical exertion was not plebeian) and the use of constricting clothes. The text identified the Hispanic siesta and the hammock as particularly harmful. Sedentary habits were criticized while fresh air, games, activities, and horse riding in the English style were all recommended. *Gimnástica* suggested a number of pastimes, such as swings, see-saws, tennis, wooden toys such as yoyos, running games such as *el juego de las cuatro esquinas*, *el juego de la gallina ciega* (something along the lines of blind man's bluff), and other guessing games, singing, dancing, horse riding in the English style, hoop rolling, skipping, and skittles, and also recommended eating sugar in moderation. It advised a happy medium between being lazy and being boyish. Below is an example of verse from *Gimnástica* that expounds the merits of physical exercise:

There is no life without movement;
The death of thought
Is the languid repose
Of an inert and pleasure-seeking man.
Of a swamp full
Of useless reeds,

Of venomous beasts.
Fetid air,
Deathly emanations,
Are born from deep inside.
Meanwhile free and serene
The babbling stream
Moves its crystal waves.
Simple birds sing,
On its green banks;
Thousands of bushes surround it,
And they thrive and flower,
And in the immense meadow
The sap moistens the plants
And gives freshness to the air
And beauty to the fields.¹⁶

Here we see individual inertia, like stagnant water, contrasted with the replenishing movement of a stream that creates flowering nature. Lethargy is also attacked in *Cartas*, where it is very much associated with colonial policy. *Cartas* states that Spanish America must adopt "all useful thinking" now that the "mortiferous lethargy" of Spanish absolutism is in the past. This theme of lethargy also appears in the "indolent idleness" in *Silva a la agricultura en la zona tórrida* of 1826 by Venezuelan Andrés Bello (also written in exile in London), which addresses the concept so hated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and cited in *La nouvelle Héloïse*, his novel of 1761: "If indolent idleness engenders only melancholy and boredom, the delight of pleasant leisure is the result of a laborious life."¹⁷ In *Gimnástica* activity and productivity are promoted as modern feminine virtues.

Cartas and *Gimnástica* set out to bring productivity to the periphery by arguing that the Spanish American republics needed educated women in order to become orderly and productive modern societies. Spanish national character and everyday life were condemned and Hispanic women were urged to improve their judgment through education and to swap their vanity, idleness, and prattling for British plainness, practicality, and rationalism.

Mora was by no means unusual in his thinking on education for girls. During the 1820s pamphlets circulated and laws were drafted on education for girls across Spanish America. The behavior of women was considered at the highest levels of revolutionary society. In 1825, shortly after the death of his

wife, Remedios Escalada, the Argentinean general José de San Martín wrote a set of maxims for his daughter Mercedes:

Maxims for my daughter

1. Humanise your character and be sensitive even with harmless insects. Sterne has said to a fly as he opened the window for it to leave: "This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee and me."¹⁸
2. Love truth and hate lies.
3. Build trust and friendship but retain respect.
4. Be charitable to the poor.
5. Respect private property.
6. Know how to keep a secret.
7. Be indulgent to all religions.
8. Be sweet to servants, the poor and the elderly.
9. Speak little and precisely.
10. Be formal at the dinner table.
11. Be clean and reject luxuries.
12. Love the patria and freedom.¹⁹

Anecdotal evidence suggests that San Martín's maxims, secular like Mora's texts, endured and were memorized in schools in Argentina in civics classes as recently as during the 1980s.

The urgent need for the education of girls and women was an idea that was also starting to come from North America by the late 1820s. In 1827 Emma Willard of the Troy Female Seminary in New York wrote to Bolívar on the subject of founding a school for girls in Bogotá:

For what purpose has Bolívar so long bared his generous bosom to the storm of war—for what purpose given his devoted head a prey to the sleepless care of administering present and providing for future governments,—to give to South America, Liberty and Independence?—From what foes, in the hour of melancholy musing, does he fear that on some evil day Slavery will return? It is not from a Spanish force? This he can conquer again. The foes he dreads are ignorance and superstition. How can he best vanquish these? Where is their stronghold, and from whence do they sally forth most effectually to enslave mankind? It is the uncultivated mind of woman. Rout them there, and they fly for ever. Emancipate the future mother and the child must be free.²⁰

It is one thing establishing that attempts were made from Britain and the United States to reform female behavior in Spanish America, but it is another to trace the actual effects of these efforts. Here we turn to Mora's practical activities. Mora's employment with Ackermann ended in 1826 when Mora and his family left London for Buenos Aires at the invitation of President Bernardino Rivadavia (1780–1845). Buenos Aires was fertile ground for liberal activity during the mid-1820s and, indeed, Rivadavia was sympathetic to the improvement of education for girls.²¹ There the Moras, working alongside Neapolitan liberal Pedro de Angelis (1784–1859) and his Swiss wife, Melanie Dayet (another intellectual European married couple employed in post-independence regeneration in South America), founded the Colegio Argentino, a school for girls, while Mora and de Angelis founded the periodicals *La Crónica Política y Literaria de Buenos Aires* (1827) and *El Conciliador* (1827). Well connected in Europe, de Angelis had been the tutor of the children of Joaquín Murat and Carolina Bonaparte, Napoleon's sister. Dayet had been a lady-in-waiting to Countess Orloff (1777–1842), a famous literary salon hostess in Paris.

In Buenos Aires, Mora and his collaborators found that, rather than starting from scratch, they were joining a preexisting educational community focused on girls as well as boys. This community was made up of foreign and local participants. The Edinburgh Baptist James Thomson had been in the province of Buenos Aires between 1818 and 1821 to advise the government on education, promote the introduction of the Lancaster teaching method, and distribute Spanish New Testaments on behalf of the British and the Foreign Bible Society and the British and Foreign School Society. Thomson set up elementary schools in Buenos Aires before departing for Chile in 1821 at the invitation of Bernardo O'Higgins. He was a strong supporter of education for girls, writing, "Female education, in my opinion, is the thing most wanted in every country; and when it shall be properly attended to, the renovation of the world will go on rapidly."²²

The experiments in female education in Buenos Aires ended in 1827. Rivadavia's resignation coincided with conflict between the Mora and de Angelis families over the running of the school.²³ De Angelis remained in the city in the employment of Juan Manuel de Rosas, rising to prominence in Federal circles as a historian. In contrast, Mora accepted an invitation from Chilean president Francisco Antonio Pinto (1785–1858), who had fought alongside San Martín and was now a committed educationalist belonging to the liberal party, to travel to Santiago de Chile.²⁴ The Moras arrived in Santiago early in 1828. Mora, in a letter to Florencio Varela, the Argentine minister for the in-

terior, reported "education-mania" in Chile.²⁵ Mora was contracted to run the Liceo de Chile in 1828 (where he hoped to form the public figures so needed in the country), drafted the 1828 Chilean liberal constitution, and edited the periodicals *El Mercurio Chileno* (1828–29) and *El Constituyente* (1828).²⁶ He also wrote a catechism on geography to be used in the Liceo.²⁷ Mora's high regard for the British work ethic had not yet waned; in another letter to Varela he wrote: "In England I worked a lot because everyone worked a lot; here I work a lot because everyone works little."²⁸ During the public exams in August 1829 the students were tested in Christian doctrine, English (for which the pupils recited Shakespeare), Spanish, French, geography, and ancient history. The following day there was a music recital with a selection of popular opera, including the German composer Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864) and the Italians Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868), Girolamo Crescentini (1766–1846), and Saverio Mercadante (1795–1870). They also sang the Chilean national anthem by Catalan Ramón Carnicer (1789–1855). Françoise Delaunay founded a state-run girls' school using the Lancaster method, which the president's daughters attended.²⁹ The school taught Christian doctrine, reading and writing, English, French, geography, and sewing. There were clear policies on pedagogical methods. For example, some subjects were taught using the monitorial method, some by a technique based on the questions and answers in catechisms, and French was taught via a system called the Hamilton method, which emphasized idiomatic phraseology according to individual topics that included literature, drama, the arts, manners, morals, and health.

The Moras' time in Chile was also of short duration. Pinto left office in August 1829, and Mora was forced to leave Chile in 1831 following the rise of conservative government. The 1830s would see an end to the liberal and modernizing experimentation of the 1820s in Buenos Aires and Santiago. But a seed was sown: in the 1850s president Manuel Montt (1809–80) promoted education, including education for girls and teacher training for women in Chile. In the same decade his Argentinean ally Sarmiento founded a girls' school in San Juan and brought sixty-three women teachers from the United States to teach in Argentina. After further residence in Peru and Bolivia, Mora returned to London in 1838 as an envoy of Andrés de Santa Cruz (1792–1865). This ended more than a decade during which Mora had worked as a lawmaker, writer, and educator in South America. Mora's *Cartas* is evidence of a flourishing transatlantic print community during the 1820s. In addition, the fact that *Cartas* was reproduced during the nineteenth century many times more than other Ackermann texts in Latin America supports

the conclusion that reading material for girls and ladies was perceived to be necessary and that the idealized images of British utility, activity, and reserve had a clear appeal. In the long term this Eurocentric cultural and educational connection between Europe and Latin America during the 1820s prevailed, re-surfacing in Chile and Argentina in the 1850s. Mora, a Spaniard with firsthand knowledge of Britain and France, is therefore an example of fitful European influence in Latin America during the 1820s: first, discursively and successfully with his involvement with Ackermann in London and his development of lasting instructional materials, and then, practically and insufficiently, through his and his wife's employment as public servants by liberal politicians eager to engage skilled migrants. Ultimately, and in line with other projects that connected Europe and Latin America during the decade, the Moras' practical work in education for girls was truncated due to the fact that their local Europhile patrons, Rivadavia and Pinto, were not installed securely enough in power.

Notes

1. The author is thought to be George Thomas Love, the editor of the English-language newspaper in Buenos Aires, *The British Packet*. In the text that follows the quotation, the author states his belief that Spanish men traditionally dislike learned women, which for him explained why Spanish American women remained uncultivated in comparison to their European counterparts.
2. Gabino F. Campos believes there is sufficient anecdotal evidence to show that Mora was a Protestant convert.
3. Roldán Vera, *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence*.
4. See Racine, "Commercial Christianity," 78–98.
5. Will, "The Introduction of Classical Economics into Chile," 8.
6. See Roldán Vera's "The Catechism as an Educational Genre in Early Independent Spanish America" and *The British Book Trade and Spanish American Independence*.
7. Anonymous, *Catecismo de geografía natural* (London: Ackermann, 1823), 3–4. In addition to Eurocentric views such as these, white supremacy was advanced in the Ackermann texts, for example, in José de Urcullo's *Catecismo de historia natural* (London: Ackermann, 1826), 13. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.
8. *Crónica de Buenos Aires* in 1827, cited in Amunátegui, *Don José Joaquín de Mora*, 13.

9. In 1825 Ackermann published an instructional book for men, *Lecciones de moral, virtud y urbanidad*, by José de Urcullu.

10. Letter from Joseph Blanco White to Robert Southey, March 16, 1823, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS.Eng.lett.d.74 ff.98.

11. João Candido de Deos e Silva, *Cartas sobre a educação das meninas por uma senhora americana* (Rio de Janeiro: Tipografia Nacional, 1838), 3.

12. Other editions were printed in Mexico City and Veracruz.

13. Mora, *Cartas sobre la educación del bello sexo por una señora americana*, 2.

14. Not all of *Cartas* was Mora's own work, containing as it does two English translations, a conduct book to be used by girls attending boarding schools, and a list of maxims on marriage from Ackermann's monthly magazine *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics* (1809–29).

15. Sarmiento, *De la educación popular*, 82.

16. Mora, *Gimnástica del bello sexo*, 98.

17. Rousseau, *La nouvelle Héloïse Julie*, 204. Mora's *Gimnástica del bello sexo* also quotes William Shakespeare.

18. The reference to Laurence Sterne comes from *Tristram Shandy* (1759).

19. San Martín, quoted in Zago, *José de San Martín*, 84.

20. Willard, "Female College at Bogota," 279.

21. See Macintyre, *Women and Print Culture in Post-Independence Buenos Aires*.

22. James Thomson, *Letters on the Moral and Religious State of South America Written during a Residence of Nearly Seven Years in Buenos Aires, Chile, Peru, and Colombia* (London: James Nisbet, 1827), 129.

23. In a letter to Florencio Varela in 1828 Mora reported that parents had complained that de Angelis was rough with the girls, kicking them and calling them brutes. G. Rodríguez, *Contribución histórica y documental*, 510–11.

24. Andrés Bello arrived in 1829. In April 1832 he wrote in *El Aracauno* that censorship had prohibited the entry of *Delfina* by Staël. The relationship between Bello and Mora is discussed in Avila Martel, *Mora y Bello en Chile*, 39–42.

25. Stuardo Ortiz, "El Liceo de Chile," 55.

26. Mora taught the liberal writer José Victorino Lastarria (1817–88) at the Liceo de Chile.

27. Stuardo Ortiz, "El Liceo de Chile," 49.

28. Letter dated April 15, 1828, reproduced in G. Rodríguez, *Contribución histórica y documental*, 514–16.

29. Conservative families preferred the girls' school run by Madame Ana Versin.

9

Heretics, Cadavers, and Capitalists

European Foreigners in Venezuela during the 1820s

Reuben Zahler

The night of December 8, 1825, was a very bad one for Colonel Feudenthal. A German aristocrat, he had come to Venezuela during the war years and fought for the republican cause. He settled in Venezuela and lost himself in the shameful habits of drinking and gambling. On the night in question, he got into a fight with Luis Stahl. Stahl had also come to Venezuela as a mercenary and now owned the City Hotel in Caracas, where Feudenthal was a guest. Though Stahl was a commoner, he bested the aristocrat. Feudenthal, thoroughly despondent from his sinful habits and wounded pride, went to his room, put a pistol to his head, and blew his brains out. His problems, however, did not stop there. He was a practicing Protestant, which posed a problem because this Catholic country possessed no Protestant cemeteries. Fortunately, when he lived in Bogotá a few years earlier, he had purchased a certificate that claimed he was Catholic so that he could marry a local woman. Based on this document, the Catholic Church allowed him a proper burial.¹

The following year, Luis Stahl also found himself in a tight spot. He had designed the City Hotel to emulate European styles and appeal to an elite clientele, but apparently it did not meet certain standards. The British consul, Sir Robert Ker Porter, described the place as "a sad, miserable hotel—filthy and fleay [*sic*]." Porter complained of the rats and the noise from boisterous soldiers that prevented his sleep.² By 1826, less than a year after the hotel's construction, Stahl could not pay his creditors, and one of them, Lope Buros, sued. Stahl placed much of his defense upon the fact that he was a foreigner and therefore didn't understand the Spanish language, his rights, or the lo-